

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MADRID 04634 031117Z

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S E C R E T MADRID 4634

EXDIS

FROM MCCLOSKEY - PASS SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, SP, US

SUBJ: SPANISH NEGOTIATIONS: ROUND 7, MADRID JUNE 30-JUL 3

REF: MADRID 4591

1. IN STEERING COMMITTEE MORNING JULY 2 ROVIRA RETURNED TO THE FACILITIES ISSUE, THIS TIME TO PRESENT "A SPANISH PROPOSAL" WHICH HE HOPED U.S. WOULD STUDY AND RESPOND TO AT 8TH ROUND IN WASHINGTON. HE BEGAN WITH THE REFRAIN THAT, GIVEN U.S. INABILITY TO APPROVE BILATERAL SECURITY GUARANTEE OR TO ARRANGE FOR SOME INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGE BETWEEN NATO AND SPANISH-US DEFENSE SYSTEM, GOS WOULD OFFER ONLY THOSE FACILITIES WHICH RELATE TO BILATERAL SPANISH-US DEFENSE INTERESTS. HE THEN REPEATED ESSENTIALLY WHAT HE HAD PROPOSED YESTERDAY, NAMELY THAT U.S. COULD REMAIN IN ROTA AND ENJOY ALL THE FACILITIES CURRENTLY THERE AND RETAIN ALL COMMUNICATIONS, FUEL AND AMMO FACILITIES IN SPAIN. THEN HE ADDED NEW ELEMENT, MERELY THAT ALL WEAPONS ON SHORE COULD REMAIN AS WELL. BUT EVERYTHING ELSE -- TORREJON, ZARAGOZA, MORON, THE TANKERS -- WOULD HAVE TO GO. ROVIRA ADDED THAT THIS NOW REPRESENTED A GOS "NEGOTIABLE" PROPOSAL.

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SECRET

PAGE 02 MADRID 04634 031117Z

2. MCCLOSKEY RESPONDED THAT HE REGRETTED PROFOUNDLY THAT GOS WAS TAKING SO DRASTIC A POSITION. HE EMPHASIZED THAT, DESPITE GOS INTENTION OF PUNISHING NATO FOR ITS FAILURE TO ACKNOWLEDGE SPANISH CONTRIBUTIONS BY DEPRIVING FACILITIES IN SPAIN WHICH BENEFIT THE ALLIANCE, IT WOULD NOT BE PERCEIVED THAT WAY BY THE AMERICAN PUBLIC OR THE U.S. CONGRESS. RATHER, IT WOULD BE VIEWED AS NOTHING MORE THAN AN ANTI-US ACT AND WOULD SERIOUSLY IMPAIR OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, PARTICULARLY IF IT CAME SO SHORTLY AFTER THE VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

3. ROVIRA APPEARED UNMOVED. HE REPEATED FAMILIAR REFRAIN THAT SPAIN COULD NOT ACCEPT THE SECOND CLASS STATUS IT WAS BEING AFFORDED AS COMPARED TO NATO, WHICH, INTER ALIA, CONTRADICTED PARAGRAPH 6 OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. HE THEN OBSERVED THAT THE GOS SAW LITTLE VALUE IN A TREATY WITHOUT A SECURITY GUARANTEE, THOUGH HE LATER EXPRESSED INTEREST IN EXAMINING THE FRAMEWORK OF PAPER WE HAD PREPARED ON A NEW TREATY FORMAT.

4. IN THE PLENARY THAT FOLLOWED, ROVIRA RESTATED THE GOS POSITION AND MCCLOSKEY RESPONDED THAT THIS WAS A SELF-DEFEATING PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD HAVE SERIOUS ADVERSE IMPACT ON WHAT THE U.S. EXECUTIVE BRANCH COULD DO TO COOPERATE WITH SPAIN IN THE FIELD OF DEFENSE. MCCLOSKEY REFERRED AGAIN TO THE ANTI-AMERICAN IMAGE OF THE GOS PROPOSAL.

COMMENT:

5. THE GOS APPEARS TO HAVE BACKED ITSELF INTO A CORNER ON FACILITIES, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY. IT HAS DONE SO FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS: FAILURE TO OBTAIN A SECURITY GUARANTEE, PARTIALLY TO RESPOND TO THE "PUBLIC PRESSURE" TO REDUCE U.S. PRESENCE AND ALSO BECAUSE ITS NATIONAL PRIDE HAS BEEN WOUNDED BY NATO REJECTION. THE NATO INABILITY TO ACCEPT TIES WITH SPAIN HAS REVIVED GENERATIONS-OLD SPANISH RESENTMENT OF THE WEST EUROPEAN DISDAIN TOWARD IBERIA. THEIR PROPOSAL, WHICH SEEKS TO STRIKE BACK AT NATO THROUGH OUR FACILITIES, APPEARS LOGICAL TO THEM DESPITE OUR ARGUMENT THAT NATO ALLIES WILL NOT BE HURT -- BUT US WILL. THE QUESTION BEFORE US NOW IS HOW WE DEAL WITH IT.

6. WE FACE OTHER DIFFICULTIES WITH THE GOS POSITION. FIRST,
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PAGE 03 MADRID 04634 031117Z

WE WOULD FIND IT AWKWARD TO COUNTENANCE SPANISH PUBLIC ATTACKS AGAINST NATO. SECOND, AND MORE IMPORTANTLY, WE CANNOT ACCEPT A BASE AGREEMENT WHICH CONCEDES TO THE GOS, IMPLICITLY OR EXPLICITLY, THE RIGHT TO RESTRICT FUTURE USE OF OUR FACILITIES IN SPAIN ON THE BASIS OF THEIR ILLOGICAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN NATO AND NON-NATO RELATED ACTIVITIES.
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